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attests, and almost completely crowded out the historical passions. The title is well chosen, for the narrative is a bit of epic poetry in prose. The martyr resembles a hero or god of epic poetry, but unluckily found no genius to immortalize him. He appears as the champion of God, contending with the powers of darkness and generally confronting in person the emperor, who is invariably depicted as a cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant. The martyr is almost a supernatural being. He endures heroically a long series of torments, sufficient to inflict many deaths. He is miraculously preserved through them all, and, indeed, has at command supernatural power, for the confusion of the idolater. He is learned and eloquent, bold and denunciatory, not to say impudent. At last, he suffers martyrdom. Occasionally a romantic author called him back to life to endure more torments for the edification of his readers.

The origin of these various forms of literature is discussed by the author with originality and acuteness; but this belongs rather to the province of patrology, as likewise the fine study of the panegyrics. For the historical student, the detailed study of documents makes the work almost a laboratory manual or record of experiments in historical criticism, from which, apart altogether from the subject of inquiry, even experienced investigators can learn to improve their methods. In spite of great learning, the author is not bookish; and he has robust good sense, for all his acuteness. He inveighs against the superstitious regard of scholars for documents, and he certainly cannot be accused of too great tenderness himself. Like a literary Caligula, but more powerful in his own realm, Father Delehaye gave all the fictitious passions but one head, and then neatly and remorselessly severed it.

This work is, however, merely preliminary—a clearing of the ground for the laying of the foundation. It is an introduction to an introduction to the sources of martyrology and the history of the persecutions. It marks the lines along which the study of those sources must proceed. When this task is completed we may hope to see a competent historian, perhaps Fr. Delehaye himself, give us the long-desired history of the early Christian martyrs.

JOHN F. FENLON.

Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne. Par LOUIS HALPHEN. Professeur adjoint à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1921. Pp. viii, 314. 14 fr.)

IT is a surprising fact that, notwithstanding the great interest and importance of the subject, and the prodigious industry which has been expended upon the collection, criticism, and publication of the sources, there is still no adequate history of the reign of Charles the Great. It is the task of filling this void which M. Halphen has set himself, but the volume now under review is not in itself designed to fill it. It is rather a series of preliminary studies; and we shall doubtless have to wait

some time for the more comprehensive work on "Charlemagne et la Civilisation Carolingienne" which the author has projected.

The present volume is made up of eight studies, all of which have already appeared in the *Revue Historique* (1917–1920). The first four deal with the criticism of the sources, and contain the most striking contribution of the book. Hitherto no one has been found to challenge the reputation of Einhard as the dominating figure in the historiography of the Carolingian epoch, and his *Vita Karoli* has long been accepted as the most important source for the history of Charlemagne and his reign. The *Royal Annals* (misnamed *Annales Lauressenses Maiores*) for the period down to about 788 have been held to be a mere compilation based on the so-called "little annals" (annals of St. Amand, of Murbach, of Lorsch, etc.); and these latter have been regarded as sources of independent value. The Monk of St. Gall, while known to be late, and hardly historical, has been thought to preserve "historical elements" derived from oral tradition. M. Halphen has attacked and overturned all of these accepted views. Einhard is remorselessly stripped of every shred of credit for the authorship of any historical work except the *Vita*; and the originality and unique merits of that work are sadly diminished. Einhard is shown not to have enjoyed such a position of prominence at the court, or of intimacy with Charlemagne, as to make him the possessor of secrets of government; it was only after the accession of Louis the Pious that he rose to official position and influence. The *Vita Karoli* was probably not written until about 830, after his retirement from public life. Almost one-third of it is taken directly from the *Royal Annals,* and the portions which appear to be original are relatively small and of doubtful reliability. Moreover, Einhard was exceedingly careless in the use of his sources, and he was often guilty of deliberate distortion or falsification. The *Royal Annals,* on the other hand, are the fundamental source for the history of Charlemagne, not only for the later years of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century (as has hitherto been supposed), but for the earlier period as well; for, far from being, down to 788, a mere compilation based on the "little annals," they are, at least from the year 768, an original, contemporary work, written down at frequent intervals, under the direct impression of the events which they record. And the "little annals", which have been supposed to be the source of the *Royal Annals,* are themselves derived from them. It required less courage to attack the Monk of St. Gall (his reputation has long been but a poor one), but it may be said without exaggeration that his standing among historians has now been utterly demolished.

Having solved the most perplexing problems of the sources, the author proceeds, in the last four chapters, to the heart of his subject-matter, and undertakes to throw new light upon the conquest of Saxony, the imperial coronation in the year 800, and the state of agriculture, industry,

and commerce in the Carolingian Empire. Most notable here is the study of the imperial coronation. Respect for Einhard has led to the very general belief that Charlemagne was taken by surprise by that event, and that it was displeasing to him. Halphen's reversal of accepted ideas concerning the sources leads him to reject this manifestly unreasonable view entirely. The coronation on Christmas day marked the culmination of a carefully arranged programme for which no other than Charles himself could have been responsible. From the *Royal Annals* and the *Liber Pontificalis,* which agree closely and are the two most trustworthy sources, no one would be led to any other view of the matter; and Halphen has been able to trace the growth of the distorted version through the *Annales Laureshamenses* (803) and the *Annales Maximiniani* (811) to Einhard. It was put out in the course of the protracted negotiations to obtain recognition from Constantinople, as a means of soothing the injured feelings of the Byzantine court. The economic chapters are perhaps too sweeping in their condemnation of the views of Inama-Sternegg and Dopsch; but the author has certainly rendered a valuable service by his protest against the enthusiastic view that Charlemagne by his supreme wisdom and foresight wrought an economic revolution—a veritable renaissance of agriculture, industry, and commerce—and by drawing attention to the extreme meagreness of the sources which throw light upon economic conditions, and insisting that nothing is to be gained by the elaboration of unsupported hypotheses.

Altogether, this is a remarkable book, and it will doubtless exert a profound influence upon the future course of Carolingian studies.

C. W. DAVID.

Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales. Volume V. *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw.* Edited by F. M. STENTON, M.A., Professor of Modern History, University College, Reading. (London: Humphrey Milford, University Press. 1920. Pp. cxliv, 554. 31s. 6d.)

UNDER this title Professor Stenton has added to the published material available for the study of the Danelaw an important collection of twelfth-century charters, 556 in all, preserved with few exceptions in the British Museum and Public Record Office. They relate to lands held in the main by religious houses in the district once known generally as that of the Five Boroughs—Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Rutland. They will be of great service in the study of the legal forms and procedure of the time, and of feudal matters. Mr. Stenton in his valuable introduction, as the title of the book indicates, regards them only from a third point of view—as sources of information regarding the social and economic arrangements within